

Message Text

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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SUBJECT: ADAM MALIK'S VIEWS ON INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

1. AS I ENTERED THE PARLIAMENTARY BUILDING ON JANUARY 18 FOR MY COURTESY CALL ON PARLIAMENTARY SPEAKER ADAM MALIK, A DELEGATION OF ABOUT 20 STUDENTS FROM BANDUNG WAS WAITING IN HIS OUTER OFFICE. MALIK'S STAFF SAID THIS WAS ALMOST A DAILY OCCURRENCE, AND THAT MALIK MADE EVERY EFFORT TO RECEIVE ANY STUDENT DELEGATION WHICH APPEARED. MALIK CONFIRMED THIS DURING OUR 45-MINUTE DISCUSSION.

2. MALIK EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT STUDENT DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS WIDESPREAD AND MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. HE BELIEVES THE STUDENTS WHO VISIT HIM AND WHO ARE AGITATING ON THE VARIOUS CAMPUSES REPRESENT A BROAD CROSS-SECTION OF STUDENT OPINION AND THAT THE SAME CONCERNS ARE SHARED BY INTELLECTUALS AND OTHERS. HE BELIEVES STUDENTS ARE PARTICULARLY UPSET BY THREE ASPECTS OF THE SUHARTO GOVERNMENT. FIRST, THE GOVERNMENT IS TOO CLOSED AND TOO INACCESSIBLE. MALIK HAS URGED SUHARTO TO BE MORE OPEN AND TO MINGLE MORE FREELY WITH THE PEOPLE,

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BUT THIS HAS HAD LITTLE IF ANY EFFECT. AS A RESULT (AND PERHAPS TO ADVANCE HIS OWN POLITICAL INTERESTS), MALIK HIMSELF HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MAJOR OUTLETS FOR THE EXPRESSION OF STUDENT DISSATISFACTION. SECONDLY, STUDENTS BELIEVE SUHARTO HAS CONCENTRATED TOO MUCH POWER IN HIS OWN HANDS. DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NEW ORDER, MALIK SAID, POWER WAS SHARED FAIRLY EQUALLY AMONG

SUHARTO, THE SULTAN OF YOGAKARTA AND MALIK. NOW SUHARTO HAS UNQUESTIONED AUTHORITY IN ALL AREAS. IN THE THIRD PLACE, THE STUDENTS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT "COMERCIAL ACTIVITIES" BY THOSE CLOSE TO SUHARTO.

3. MALIK BELIEVES SOME INDIVIDUALS WITHIN THE ARMY MAY WELL BE ENCOURAGING THE STUDNETS BUT DOES NOT AS YET SEE ANY SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR THEM BY OFFICERS IN CONTROL OF TROOPS WHO COULD, IF THEY CHOSE, CREATE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE GOVERNMENT. HE BELIEVES, HOWEVER, THAT THE DANGER OF INCREASE ARMY SUPPORT IS PRESENT (SEE BELOW). MALIK DOES NOT BELIEVE THE STUDENTS ARE AT PRESENT GETTING SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVED THAT LIBYA HAD OFFERED SUPPORT TO CONSERVATIVE MOSLEM ELEMENTS IN INDONESIA, BU THAT THIS OFFER WOULD NOT BE TAKEN UP NOW THAT THE CURRENT MEDAN TRIAL OF KOMANDO JIHAD ELEMENTS HAD EXPOSED THE LIBYAN CONNECTION.

4. MALIK SAID HE HAD TALKED WITH SUHARTO JUST TWO DAYS AGO ABOUT THE KEY IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING THE ARMY IN LINE. IF THE ARMY STANDS FIRM, MALIK SAID, SUHARTO IS SURE TO BE REELECTED. EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE MPR HAVE ALREADY SAID THEY FAVOR HIM. ARMY LEADERS MUST, HOWEVER, LOW-KEY THEIR STATEMENTS AND THEIR EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE STUDENTS. IF THE STUDENTS ARE PROVOKED,

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THEY WILL RETALIATE AND THE GOVERNMENT COULD FACE A SERIOUS SITUATION. THE RECENT CLASH IN SURABAYA, THOUGH FAIRLY MINOR, WAS MOST UNFORTUNATE IN THAT SEVERAL STUDENTS WERE INJURED. THIS COULD EASILY SPARK MORE WIDESPREAD STUDENT AGITATION. MALIK IS CONCERNED ALSO THAT INCREASED STUDENT AGITATION COULD, AS HAS OCCURRED IN THE PAST, TAKE A VIOLENTLY ANTI-CHINESE TURN. HE SAID CHINESE RESIDENTS IN MEDAN AND BANDUNG ARE ALREADY NERVOUS.

5. MALIK REITERATED THAT HE IS SURE SUHARTO WILL BE REELECTED, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT HE MUST MAKE MAJOR CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS. BASIC POLICIES ARE GOOD, BUT IMPLEMENTATION HAS FALLEN SHORT. MEMBERS OF THE CABINET SHOULD BE PROMINENT POLITICAL OR PUBLIC LEADERS RATHER THAN TECHNICIANS. THE LATTER, THOUGH NEEDED AT THE SECOND AND THRID LEVELS, SHOULD NOT BE IN THE FOREFRONT SINCE THEY ARE NOT WELL KNOWN AND SINCE THEY HAVE MADE MISTAKES IN THE PAST. ASKED FOR DETAILS, MALIK MENTIONED THAT AGRICULTURAL MINISTER THOJIB HAD SAID SOME YEARS AGO THAT INDONESIA WOULD BE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOODGRAINS BY 1973; ACTUALLY

ITS DEFICIT HAS DOUBLED. HE SAID ALSO THAT WIDJOJO HAD
FALLEN SHORT IN SOME RESPECTS.

6. REGARDING HIS ROLE AS SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT,
MALIK SAID THAT SUHARTO HAD ASKED HIM LAST FALL TO TAKE
OVER THE ORGANIZATION TO STRENGTHEN IT AND ALSO TO ENSURE
SUHARTO'S REELECTION. HE HAD TAKEN THE JOB ONLY ON THE
CONDITION THAT HE WOULD HAVE SUHARTO'S FULL SUPPORT IN
TAKING STEPS TO INCREASE PARLIAMENT'S AUTHORITY. HE
HAS ALREADY MADE WHAT HE CONSIDERS TO BE TWO MAJOR IM-
PROVEMENTS. FIRST, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN INDONESIA,
CABINET MINISTERS CAME TO THE PARLIAMENT TO EXPLAIN THE
BUDGET IN DETAIL PRIOR TO PRESENTATION EARLIER THIS MONTH
BY THE PRESIDENT. THIS, MALIK SAID, IS REQUIRED BY THE
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CONSTITUTION, BUT HAD NOT BEEN DONE BEFORE. SECONDLY,
MALIK HAS SUCCEEDED IN GETTING INDONESIAN FINANCIAL
INSPECTION BOARD CHAIRMAN UMAR WIRAHADIKUSUMAH TO SUBMIT
HIS REPORT TO THE PARLIAMENT. THUS FAR HE HAS AGREED
TO DO SO EVERY SIX MONTHS, BUT MALIK HOPES TO STEP UP
THE TIMETABLE. MALIK PLANS ALSO TO STRENGTHEN THE
ELEVEN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES BY BRING IN EXPERTS
FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THESE MAY BE FROM UNIVERSITIES
OR OTHER PRIVATE GROUPS WHO WOULD WORK WITH THE COMMITTEES
ON VARIOUS TECHNICAL MATTERS. THIS WILL NOT ONLY STRENGTHEN
THE ABILITY OF THE COMMITTEES TO CARRY OUT THEIR FUNCTIONS
BUT WILL ALSO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN PARLIAMENT AND
THE GENERAL POPULACE.

7. COMMENT: MALIK IS OBVIOUSLY DEEPLY IMMERSED IN DOM-
ESTIC POLITICS AND SEEMS TO BE ENJOYING IT. HIS ESTIMATE
OF THE CURRENT STUDENT SITUATION COINCIDES CLOSELY WITH
OURS, WHICH IS BEING TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL.
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